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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 8

**Adoption of the agenda and organization
of work (concluded)***

**SEVENTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL
COMMITTEE (A/34/250/Add.6)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 of its seventh report before the Assembly [A/34/250/Add.6], the General Committee recommends the inclusion of an additional agenda item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against activities of mercenaries" and its consideration directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly approves this recommendation of the General Committee?

The recommendation was adopted (see decision 34/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 4 of its report, the General Committee recommends that:

"(a) The General Assembly should appoint the following States as members of an *ad hoc* committee, under the chairmanship of the President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, to review the question of the continuation of subsidiary organs with a view to making recommendations thereon to the Assembly at its thirty-fifth session, on the understanding that the *ad hoc* committee would work on the basis of consensus: (i) Bahamas, Belgium, Benin, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Guyana, Iceland, Lesotho, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New

Guinea, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Yemen; (ii) India (as Chairman of the Group of 77); (iii) Cuba (as Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries); (iv) States holding the chairmanship of the regional groups;

"(b) The General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to extend the full co-operation of the Secretariat to the *ad hoc* committee in the performance of its task;

"(c) A moratorium for a fixed period on the establishment of additional subsidiary organs should be considered by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session."

3. At this point, I should like to give the Assembly some background information on this recommendation.

4. Among the many topics included in the extensive consultations held on the rationalization of General Assembly procedures was the need to review the usefulness of the work of various subsidiary bodies. It was clear from the beginning that a variety of views existed on this subject. As with other decisions concerning work procedures affecting all delegations, it seemed desirable to proceed on the basis of the broadest possible consensus. Accordingly, a formula was sought that would provide for consultations which would, on the one hand, respect the constitutional concerns of some delegations while, on the other hand, offering an opportunity for exposure to a wide spectrum of opinion.

5. As will be apparent from the list I enumerated, the major point of departure for the composition of the *ad hoc* committee on subsidiary organs is the membership of the present General Committee.

6. In this connexion, I should like to emphasize that the inclusion in the *ad hoc* committee of the Chairman of the Group of 77, the Chairman of the group of non-aligned countries and the chairmen of the five regional groups is not intended in any way to set a precedent, either for membership in any new subsidiary body which the General Assembly may establish in the future or for possible alteration by the General Assembly of the composition of any existing subsidiary organ. The composition of the *ad hoc* committee does not constitute any special recognition or formalization of a special role for the Chairmen of the Group of 77 and the group of non-aligned countries in a United Nations committee, but is intended solely to ensure that the important work of General Assembly reform should go forward with the widest possible support.

7. Indeed, in conclusion, I should like all delegations to know that, for my part, I should also welcome contributions to the work of the *ad hoc* committee from delegations which are not members of the committee.

* Resumed from the 82nd meeting.

May I consider that the General Assembly adopts the recommendations of the General Committee in paragraph 4 of its report?

The recommendation was adopted (see decision 34/40).

8. The PRESIDENT: With this decision, I believe the Assembly has taken another step forward in the implementation of its desire to rationalize and improve the organization of work of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 18

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued):*

- (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

9. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 18 be closed at 5 p.m. today. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly adopts that proposal.

It was so decided.

10. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Rapporteur of the Special Committee with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Louf Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic, to present the Special Committee's report.

11. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, I have the honour of presenting to the General Assembly the report of the Special Committee covering its work during 1979. The report, which relates, *inter alia*, to item 18 of the agenda, is submitted in accordance with paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 33/44 of 13 December 1978 on the implementation of the Declaration, by which the Assembly requested the Special Committee:

"to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular:

"(a) To formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism . . .".

12. The complete report of the Special Committee is contained in document A/34/23/Rev.1. An account of the Committee's examination of the situation in individual Territories is set out in chapters VIII to XXXII of the report. An account of its consideration of the other specific questions referred to it in the relevant General Assembly resolutions is set out in chapters I to VII and chapter XXXII of the report.

13. As in previous years the programme of work of the Special Committee has been extremely heavy in 1979. Having met between January and August and held, as appropriate, unofficial consultations among members, the Committee gave adequate consideration to and submitted recommendations on most of the items on its agenda. The Committee decided to transmit to the General Assembly information which should facilitate consideration of the remaining items at the current session.

14. In the course of its work during the year the Special Committee, bearing in mind in particular the specific requests addressed to it by the General Assembly in resolution 33/44, reviewed the implementation of the Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)] and the Programme of Action [resolution 2621 (XXV)] as well as the various United Nations resolutions relating to the colonial Territories. On the basis of the review and in the light of developments, the Committee formulated recommendations for the application of further measures by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system with a view to accelerating the pace of decolonization and the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned.

15. As envisaged in its report to the General Assembly at the thirty-third session¹ and within the context of resolutions 1654 (XVI) and 2621 (XXV), in which the Assembly, *inter alia*, authorized the Special Committee to meet elsewhere than at United Nations Headquarters, the Special Committee held meetings in Belgrade in April of this year on the invitation of the Government of Yugoslavia. At its session in Belgrade the Special Committee considered the questions of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia [see A/34/23/Rev. 1, chaps. VIII and IX], once again with the active participation of the representatives of the Patriotic Front, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the United Nations Council for Namibia. The representative of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* also took part in the session. The related chapters of the Committee's report setting out its recommendations have been the subject of consideration in the Fourth Committee in connexion with the question of Southern Rhodesia [agenda item 90] and by the General Assembly in a plenary meeting in respect of Namibia [agenda item 27].

16. During the year the Special Committee also continued, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 33/40, its study of the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. In the light of the related recommendation of the Special Committee, the Fourth Committee has already formulated its own recommendations on this question, which the Assembly considered at its 75th meeting and on which it adopted resolution 34/41.

17. The Special Committee, in the light of the relevant provisions of resolutions 33/44 and 33/33, continued its consideration of the military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration which are impeding the implementation

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. I, para. 164.

* Resumed from the 75th meeting.

of the Declaration and are incompatible with the provisions of relevant General Assembly resolutions. Furthermore, under the terms of the relevant provisions of resolution 33/41, the Committee also continued its examination of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations. It is a matter of principle for the Special Committee that every effort should be made by the international community to provide the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements with the assistance they require throughout the period leading to their liberation. It was in this context that the Special Committee dispatched this year a five-member mission to hold consultations with the executive heads of several agencies, which greatly facilitated the formulation by the Committee of its recommendations on the item.

18. As members will have noted from the relevant chapters of the Committee's report now before the Assembly, the Special Committee also devoted considerable attention during the year to the decolonization of the small Territories and, in that regard, approved a number of concrete recommendations and proposals concerning individual Territories. The importance which the Special Committee attaches to that question was clearly echoed in the debate recently concluded by the Fourth Committee on that aspect of the implementation of the Declaration, as a result of which it submitted seven draft resolutions, four draft consensuses and four draft decisions for the attention of the General Assembly, which were subsequently endorsed by the Assembly at its 75th meeting. In the same connexion the Special Committee once again noted with satisfaction the continued readiness of administering Powers to receive visiting missions of the Committee.

19. As has been noted by the Assembly, the Special Committee, on the invitation of the Government of the United States, was able to dispatch a visiting mission to Guam [see A/34/23/Rev.1, chap. XXVII, annex]. It is the firm view of the Committee that these visiting missions constitute an invaluable method of securing first-hand information on the situation prevailing in the Territories concerned, as well as on the aspirations of the people regarding their future.

20. Finally the Committee carried out a number of other responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly in various resolutions, as well as other tasks arising from its own previous decisions, including specific activities relating to the question of the publicity to be given to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. The Special Committee also held consultations during the year with several non-governmental organizations and took part in a number of international conferences and meetings convened by those organizations. The recommendations of the Committee on that question are set out in chapter I, paragraph 162, of the present report.

21. With regard to the general aspect of the process of decolonization, I should like, on behalf of the Special Committee, to express the hope that the Assembly will give due consideration to the various recommendations as reflected in the relevant sections of the Committee's report and that the proposals which are outlined in section P of chapter I, entitled "Future Work", will meet with its full approval, so that the Committee may be enabled to carry out the tasks it proposes to undertake next year.

22. The Special Committee also recommends that the General Assembly renew its appeal to the administering Powers concerned to take immediately all the necessary steps for the implementation of the Declaration and of the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion the Special Committee, in the light of the useful results achieved as a consequence of the active participation in its work of all the administering Powers, recommends that the General Assembly again request the administering Powers concerned to participate actively in its work relating to the Territories under their respective administration. Furthermore, bearing in mind the affirmation by the General Assembly that direct association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those Territories towards a position of equality with States Members of the United Nations, the Special Committee also recommends that the General Assembly invite the administering Powers to allow representatives of the Territories concerned to participate in the discussion in the Fourth Committee and in the Special Committee of the items relating to their respective countries. The General Assembly might also wish to renew its appeal to all States, to the specialized agencies and to other organizations within the United Nations system to comply with the various requests addressed to them by the United Nations in its resolutions on the question of decolonization.

23. In conclusion, the Special Committee recommends that, in approving the programme of work outlined in that section, the General Assembly also make adequate financial provisions to cover the activities envisaged by the Committee for the year 1980. The Committee expresses the hope that the Secretary-General will continue to provide it with all the facilities and personnel necessary for the discharge of its mandate.

24. On behalf of the Special Committee, I commend the report to the General Assembly for its serious attention.

25. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Mr. Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago.

26. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago), Acting Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Inasmuch as a detailed account of the work accomplished by the Special Committee during 1979 has already been given to the General Assembly by the Rapporteur of the Committee, our colleague Mr. Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic, I shall confine myself to some remarks on the developments that have taken place during the year in the field of decolonization, as well as on some of the major problems which have continued to engage the Committee's close attention.

27. On the positive side, we note with satisfaction that since last year three former Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Gilbert Islands, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent, have acceded to independence as Kiribati, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines respectively, and that one of them, Saint Lucia, became a

Member of this Organization at the outset of the current session of the Assembly [see resolution 341]. Equally satisfactory is the fact that the two administering Powers concerned, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, have committed themselves to bringing the New Hebrides to independence by 1980. I am confident that, in keeping with their commitment, those two Governments will continue to take the necessary measures to enable the Territory to move towards that goal in the smoothest and speediest manner possible.

28. I am fully convinced that the emergence of these new sovereign and independent members of the community of nations is a direct reflection of the role that we, the members of the international community, have played in supporting and hastening the decolonization process and in assisting the peoples of the colonial Territories throughout the world in their efforts to achieve their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. At a time when the world community is about to observe the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the successes achieved by the colonial peoples during the past two decades in their long struggle for liberation and the very real progress made in the process of decolonization can be viewed with a certain measure of satisfaction. That much remains to be done, however, is, I believe, as obvious as are the difficulties that are encumbering the search for a solution to some of the remaining colonial problems.

29. Another important development during the year was the successful series of meetings that the Special Committee held in April in the capital of a non-aligned country, Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the Government of that country. Attended as they were by the representatives of the national liberation movements of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, by the administering Power concerned and by a number of organizations within the United Nations system, the Special Committee's Belgrade meetings proved most constructive and, I trust, will be remembered not only in terms of their immediate achievements but also in the broader perspective of further uniting the efforts of the international community to hasten the process of decolonization, particularly in southern Africa.

30. It is evident from the related proceedings of the Special Committee that the active participation of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO in its work during the year continued to enhance the Committee's knowledge of the situation in the Territories and thus its ability to deal with the issues involved effectively and in depth, as has been duly reflected in the recommendations it has placed before this Assembly. I need hardly add that the Committee will continue to lend its full support to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their continuing struggle to achieve their legitimate rights.

31. As the President of Yugoslavia rightly pointed out in his message to the Special Committee during our meeting in Belgrade:

"The eradication of colonialism is not only a matter for the conscience of mankind but is also a prerequisite for the relaxation of tension in the world, for the strengthening of relations of equality among countries and for the safeguarding of peace in the world."²

32. These words apply with full force to the critical situation relating to Zimbabwe and Namibia. As mem-

bers are well aware, some two and a half years have now elapsed since the latest round of intensive negotiations was first begun with a view to bringing about a settlement of the Namibian question. This, unfortunately, has remained an unfulfilled hope, and, to our deep dismay and regret, the oppressed people of Namibia have yet to exercise their acknowledged right to self-determination and independence and to free their country from foreign domination. Bearing in mind the efforts undertaken by all concerned throughout the period—and here I must refer in particular to SWAPO, whose representatives, negotiating in good faith, have made some very substantial concessions—it is quite obvious that the current lack of progress should be blamed solely and exclusively on the dilatory tactics to which the Government of South Africa continues to resort.

33. In its manoeuvres to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Territory, the South African Government, during this period, has established a so-called Constituent Assembly with the attribution of legislative and executive powers, in open defiance of the will of the international community and in direct contravention of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In order to consolidate its illegal presence in Namibia, the Government of South Africa has also continued its repression of the Namibian population, the majority of which is openly opposed to Pretoria's illegal domination over the Territory. Furthermore, this deplorable situation has been further aggravated by the fact that South Africa continues to use the international Territory as a springboard for its wanton attacks against neighbouring States, thus continuously and dangerously threatening the peace and security of the entire region.

34. As responsible members of the international community, we remain in duty bound to continue to reject all manoeuvres by South Africa to impose a so-called internal settlement aimed at giving its illegal occupying régime a semblance of legitimacy. For us the only acceptable political solution in Namibia is one based on the termination of South Africa's illegal occupation and on the free and unfettered exercise by all Namibians of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Clearly, these remain very basic propositions, which must of necessity form the bedrock of any internationally acceptable solution to what is one of the most serious and potentially dangerous problems facing the United Nations.

35. I need hardly add that we must continue to give our unreserved moral, political and material support to the struggling people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their legitimate representative. In this, as in other equally important areas, there can be no equivocation and, as reflected fully in the Assembly's recent debate and in the resolutions now before the Assembly, our duty is clear: we cannot and shall not rest as long as the present intolerable situation continues and the representatives of the Namibian people have not taken their legitimate place among us.

36. I do not intend to give an account of the developments which have led to the current situation relating to Southern Rhodesia, since the Fourth Committee has had the opportunity to hear such an account during its recent consideration of the item at its 26th, 27th and 29th to 37th meetings. Members are aware that for the last three months the Patriotic Front, representing the

² See A/AC.109/PV.1138, p. 3.

true aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe, has been engaged in a difficult and patient exercise aimed at achieving a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. This exercise, which was given added impetus by the commitment of the heads of Government of Commonwealth countries at their Lusaka meeting from 1 to 7 August 1979 to seek a negotiated solution, has yielded encouraging results. We can but hope that the same spirit of compromise and will to succeed which have prevailed to date at the London Conference can be maintained so that a final settlement based on the United Nations Charter and on the relevant resolutions of this Assembly can be achieved. As was underscored by the representatives of the Patriotic Front before the Fourth Committee at its 26th, 27th and 31st meetings, it therefore behoves the international community at this critical stage to support firmly all efforts aimed at achieving a lasting peace and a just settlement in the Territory with the participation of all interested parties. Additionally, the United Nations should also reaffirm its readiness to take appropriate concrete measures to ensure that the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia is irreversible. As I observed earlier, we shall be commemorating next year the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. I am fully convinced that, with the good will and determination of all concerned, it should be possible to commemorate that anniversary with the representatives of Zimbabwe sitting in this hall, the decolonization of their country already a matter of history.

37. Bearing in mind the continued efforts of the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community to assist in the eradication of colonialism throughout the world and particularly in southern Africa, it is a most regrettable fact that the plunder and exploitation of the human and natural resources of those colonial Territories continue unabated. Such activities, by reinforcing the economic potential of the régimes concerned, strengthen the racist and colonialist domination over Zimbabwe and Namibia and clearly hamper the struggle waged by the peoples of those Territories for their liberation. I should like, therefore, on behalf of the Special Committee, to add my voice to all those which, over the years and most recently during the related debate in the Fourth Committee, have been demanding the immediate cessation of all such foreign activities, as it is evident that they will ultimately result in further suffering for the peoples concerned.

38. A corollary to the efforts of the world community in that regard is the equally evident need for the international community to increase its support and assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories in southern Africa at both the governmental and intergovernmental level. As is clearly reflected in the report of the Special Committee, the assistance rendered so far still falls pitifully short of meeting actual needs and, in regard to the major international funding institutions in particular, much remains to be done to create those conditions which will ensure that the people concerned can soon exercise their legitimate rights. The continuing intensification of the efforts being made within the framework of UNDP to this end and the co-operation extended in that connexion by several specialized agencies indeed deserve particular commendation and encouragement. I can only express my earnest appeal to all organizations within the United Nations system to do their utmost to meet the needs of the suffering millions anxiously awaiting our help.

39. While the Special Committee necessarily devoted much time during the year to the urgent questions raised by the situation in the colonial Territories of southern Africa, it was also able to give its serious attention to other Territories which, because of their size, isolation or limited resources, are often faced with highly complex problems. These considerations cannot, however, be allowed to have any bearing whatsoever on the rights and privileges of the peoples concerned, in particular on their right to make their own decisions in respect of their future. The obligation of the administering Powers concerned to comply faithfully with such decisions cannot be over-emphasized. At the same time, in the discharge of their primary responsibilities under the Charter, the administering Powers should do their utmost to ensure that the economies of the Territories they administer are placed on a sound basis and, to that effect, they should organize effective development programmes. That such programmes should carefully protect the interests, both present and future, of the peoples of the Territories concerned should, of course, be a paramount consideration in their elaboration. Some of these and other important recommendations of the Special Committee were already acted upon by the Assembly earlier this session and I am confident that the remaining recommendations of the Committee will receive the Assembly's equally positive endorsement.

40. In connexion with the Special Committee's consideration of the situation in the small Territories, the Committee has once again received the co-operation of all the administering Powers concerned. Bearing in mind the clear position taken by the General Assembly in this regard, I need hardly stress in this forum the importance of such co-operation if the Special Committee is to be able effectively to assist the peoples of the Territories and to facilitate the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in those Territories.

41. As the Rapporteur of the Special Committee has already reported to this Assembly, the Committee was also able this year to dispatch visiting missions to two of the Territories with which it is concerned: Guam and, more recently, the New Hebrides. I wish to reiterate in this connexion what the Committee has so often asserted, namely, that the sending of such visiting missions is the most direct, as well as the most effective, means of securing information on the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in the colonial Territories and of ascertaining at first hand the real wishes and aspirations of the peoples concerned. Accordingly, the Committee fully intends, with the necessary co-operation of the administering Powers, to continue to dispatch such missions as and when appropriate.

42. I should like at this stage to acknowledge with deep appreciation the important contributions made by the other officers of the Special Committee. First of all, allow me, Mr. President, to say that it has been a most rewarding experience for me to work with you on the Special Committee during the past several years.

43. During the tenure of your chairmanship of the Special Committee, you brought a new dimension to the work and the role of the Organization in the field of decolonization. As the contributions you have made to our common cause are too numerous to be recounted here, and lest I offend your modesty, let me confine myself to a few of what I consider to have been your most significant accomplishments which have left a lasting impact on the manner in which the Committee

effectively discharges the important task entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

44. First and foremost, as members will agree, is the fact that, with very few exceptions, the recommendations of the Special Committee are arrived at on the basis of the consensus of its entire membership. Only through your widely acknowledged ability and indefatigable efforts is such successful consensus building possible. There are, of course, certain fundamentally differing approaches towards some of the issues, but even in those highly sensitive and political areas, you have invariably managed to close the gaps in the varying positions and to bring about agreement with respect to the underlying objectives and principles. It goes without saying that such decisions, representing the unanimous consensus of the membership, have immensely enhanced the Organization's competence to deal effectively with the often complex issues of the decolonization process.

45. In respect of the colonial Territories which have been placed on the agenda of the Committee by the General Assembly, and many of which have since won their long-fought-for independence, it was you, Mr. President, who laid the groundwork for their active participation not only in the work of the Committee and the Assembly, but also in the related work of other organizations within the United Nations system. I vividly recall the days when the Assembly had the benefit of receiving crucial and pertinent information on the decolonization process of the Territories concerned from no fewer than 13 national liberation movements through their participation in our work. The close and continuing contact maintained by the United Nations with those valiant liberation forces, as well as the effective co-ordination of our work with the Organization of African Unity [OAU], have immensely improved the chance for freedom and justice for all peoples under colonial rule in the continent of Africa.

46. As the late leader of PAIGC,³ the great freedom fighter and statesman Amílcar Cabral, once remarked, the international recognition accorded the national liberation movements as a result of your untiring dedication, has indeed served as an irreplaceable source of encouragement to the peoples of the colonial Territories in Africa. I could not have agreed with him more when he went on to designate you as the "cosmonaut of decolonization".

47. In the field of the extension of international assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories, you have long crusaded for concerted action by the international community—in particular by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system. By systematically bringing urgently to the attention of the world community the pressing needs of the peoples concerned and through your continued co-ordination with successive presiding officers of the Economic and Social Council and with the senior officials of the aforementioned organizations, you have successfully brought into being an acute sense of awareness on the part of all concerned of the critical need to render, in their respective fields of activity and competence, the maximum support and assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle against hunger, disease and deprivation.

48. It is also a well-acknowledged fact that, all through the period of your chairmanship, you have

consistently endeavoured to enlist the full co-operation of the administering Powers in the Special Committee's examination of the various Territories. On the basis of the close working relationship thus established, the United Nations has been able to dispatch missions to a number of colonial Territories, including Papua New Guinea, Niue, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Cape Verde, Spanish Sahara, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands, Tokelau, French Somaliland, the Cayman Islands, the United States Virgin Islands, Guam and the New Hebrides.

49. Throughout our association I have personally benefited from your guidance, appreciated your advice and admired your commitment and total dedication to the cause you are serving. It has come as no surprise to me or to any of the present and past members of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that the Assembly has called upon you to preside over this its thirty-fourth session, for you bring to the presidency the qualities of success which you have so successfully displayed in your years as Chairman of the Special Committee.

50. My gratitude goes also to my fellow officers of the Committee—Ambassador Anders Thunborg of Sweden and Mr. Neytcho Neytchev of Bulgaria, my fellow Vice-Chairmen; and to Mr. Louf Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic, our Rapporteur. I deem it an honour and a privilege to have worked with such learned and dedicated colleagues during the past years.

51. I should like also to pay a tribute to the Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, for his continued assistance and collaboration and, through him, my gratitude goes also to all the members of his Department.

52. Before concluding my statement, I should like to pay a particular tribute to the delegation of Sweden for its co-operation and the invaluable contribution it has made to the Special Committee's work during the last two years. Sweden is retiring from the Committee at the end of this year and I am fully confident that its successor, which will shortly be nominated, will continue the great tradition of the Nordic countries and assist in carrying out the important tasks entrusted to the Special Committee.

53. The PRESIDENT: I thank most kindly the Acting Chairman of the Special Committee for the generous and friendly statements he made about me.

54. Mr. FOUM (United Republic of Tanzania): Permit me at the outset to congratulate the Rapporteur of the Special Committee, Mr. Louf Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic, for the comprehensive report covering the activities of that Committee for the current year and for his very thorough remarks introducing this debate.

55. May I also express our singular appreciation to the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, for his special dedication and the commendable manner in which his Department has assisted the Special Committee in discharging its duties.

56. As one of the original members of that important Committee, the United Republic of Tanzania wishes to

³ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

note with satisfaction that the work of the Special Committee has continued effectively and efficiently, in the same constructive spirit as in the past, to assist the peoples of the colonial Territories in their struggle to achieve the right to self-determination and independence. We are thus gratified to note that the peoples of three additional former colonial Territories—Kiribati, Saint Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines—have exercised that right and emerged as full, independent sovereign nations.

57. The progress achieved in the field of decolonization since the birth of this Organization has been remarkable indeed. Nearly 200 million people in some 50 Territories falling within the purview of the United Nations Charter in 1946 have since won their independence from their colonial masters and have joined the Organization, bringing nearer to reality one of the objectives of the Charter, that is universality of membership.

58. Notwithstanding those positive developments, however, my delegation deems it a deplorable anomaly and an unacceptable state of affairs that, 34 years after its creation and nearly 20 years since the adoption of the historic Declaration on decolonization, today the United Nations finds itself debating how best the rights of some 10 million people of the remaining colonial Territories can be brought to parity with those of the rest of the world. This situation cannot be tolerated any longer if we, the members of the international community, are truly committed to the realization of the objective of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as expressed in the words of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV):

“Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.”

59. It is in this context that the Tanzanian delegation considers that there remains no room for equivocation or complacency in the Organization's endeavour to restore to the peoples concerned their rights to justice, human dignity and freedom. It is in this context, too, that we regard the role played by the Special Committee as critical and essential. We, as a member of that Committee, reiterate our resolve to do everything possible to expedite that process.

60. The right of peoples to freedom and independence is a sacred right. The right of peoples to use every available means to acquire their freedom has been duly recognized. Tanzania has consistently applied its efforts to assisting peoples under colonial or racial oppression in their struggle to achieve their legitimate rights. Together with the other front-line States in southern Africa, we have taken every step, in a responsible and positive manner, to bring about implementation of the decisions of this Organization. In particular, we have sought and continue to search for the speedy implementation of the decision contained in the Declaration.

61. It is in this perspective that Tanzania welcomed the convening at Lancaster House in London of the

conference to search for a peaceful solution to the colonial situation in Southern Rhodesia. That the Patriotic Front, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, decided to participate fully in those talks was, to us, a further concrete affirmation of its desire to use every available means and opportunity of achieving freedom for Zimbabwe. As the record will show, the representatives of the Patriotic Front at the highest level have been conducting negotiations in a truly statesmanlike manner. They have devoted themselves solely to the creation of the requisite conditions for the genuine and peaceful transfer of all power to the majority of the people.

62. It was thus with deep indignation that we learnt of the most recent aggression committed by the illegal Muzorewa-Smith régime against our sister Republics of Zambia and Mozambique. Tanzania strongly condemns those dastardly acts of aggression. We do so because of the wanton destruction, the resultant loss of life and the continuing bloodshed and suffering of the people of Zambia and Mozambique, and we do so within the context of their serious implications and the tragic consequences which may arise with respect to the negotiations in London or for the results of those negotiations.

63. As I have stated, Tanzania fully supports the all-out efforts initiated by the leaders of the Commonwealth nations to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem. Those recurring acts of aggression by the illegal régime against neighbouring states are decidedly aimed at frustrating those efforts. If there is to be a just and durable solution, as well as lasting peace, it is imperative that the administering Power institute the immediate and effective disengagement of the Smith-Muzorewa forces, be they military, paramilitary, police or non-conscripted forces, and ensure the effective withdrawal of all foreign and mercenary forces. It is imperative that the administering Power take all the action necessary to affirm and ensure respect for the honouring of whatever undertakings are collectively agreed upon at Lancaster House.

64. In view of these developments it is all the more clear that until the creation of a situation that will guarantee the free and unfettered exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable rights, the world community must continue to apply its vigilance and to maintain pressure on the racist minority. It goes without saying that the selective mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime can be lifted only when the body that decided unanimously to apply them—the Security Council—decides to lift them.

65. With respect to the constantly deteriorating situation in Namibia, the Tanzanian delegation had the opportunity to pronounce itself on that question a few days ago [94th meeting]; at this stage, I shall merely reiterate our earnest call for continued and intensified international action aimed at the total isolation of the racist régime of South Africa until the genuine independence of the international Territory has been achieved. Tanzania therefore wishes to appeal to those Member States which continue to maintain bilateral relations with the Pretoria Government to terminate once and for all all such collaboration—from which the Pretoria régime derives comfort in the execution of its racist and colonialist design—in view of that Government's defiance of the will of the Organization as expressed in the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

66. That it is incumbent upon the organizations within the United Nations system to continue to render assistance to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia requires no explanation. The delegation of Tanzania is indeed gratified at the generally favourable positions adopted over the years in this regard by a number of specialized agencies and other organizations within the system. Having served on the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee several years ago, I recall the days when the representatives of the organizations concerned invariably invoked either constitutional or legal arguments in an attempt to justify their so-called inability to extend assistance to the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements in southern Africa. It is therefore particularly noteworthy that, thanks largely to the dynamic leadership and initiative of Mr. Bradford Morse and his able assistant, Mr. Michel Doo Kingue, the Governing Council of UNDP at its last session decided to augment further the resources available for the requisite assistance. It is the considered view of Tanzania that, given the necessary will and determination, no obstacles, juridical or other, could possibly prevent the formulation of programmes of assistance to the peoples concerned to enable them to be free of hunger, neglect and disease; for the assistance given to date, helpful as it has been, represents a mere fraction of the massive needs of those peoples. I need hardly emphasize the positive role which the World Bank group could play in this regard, for instance by pledging and channelling a bare fraction of the group's revenues from interest to the resources to be made available to UNDP for this purpose.

67. During the debate in the Fourth Committee on the item relating to activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial territories—at the Committee's 3rd to 11th, 27th and 28th meetings—we heard once again the usual criticism from a certain group of Member States to the effect that the calls on the administering Powers to take steps to strengthen and diversify the economies of the Territories for which they are responsible and the demand for the cessation of such activities of foreign economic and other interests in the Territories concerned are mutually exclusive. There is, of course, no basis whatsoever for this criticism. In the first place, the Assembly makes it crystal clear that any such activities which impede the implementation of the Declaration are incompatible with the Charter. Secondly, the Assembly distinguishes those activities taking place at present in Zimbabwe and Namibia, which it strongly condemns, from those in other colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories. As regards the latter activities, the Assembly calls upon all the inhabitants of the Territories concerned, and requests the Special Committee, to continue to monitor those activities closely in order to ensure that all foreign economic and other activities, if they are to be permitted to continue in the Territories, are aimed at strengthening and diversifying the economies in the interest of the peoples and their speedy accession to independence. The terms of resolution 34/41 adopted by the Assembly only a few weeks ago by the affirmative votes of the overwhelming majority of the membership amply reflect these considerations I have just outlined and leave no room for wilful misconstruction. The Tanzanian delegation wishes only to express its confident hope that those Member States which continue to collaborate with the South African Government will heed the urgent appeals addressed to them in this regard, in order that the lives of the suffering millions in the area may be more secure.

68. With respect to a number of smaller Territories in the Caribbean and in the Asian and Pacific regions, my

delegation has noted with satisfaction the increasing level of co-operation that the administering Powers are extending to the related work of the United Nations. As has been clearly demonstrated during the past 14 weeks or so, the process of decolonization, even in the worst possible situation of a rebellious colony, can indeed be accelerated given the will and commitment of the administering Power to bring about the desired results. The Tanzanian delegation considers that the basic rights of some 2.5 million people in the remaining 22 Territories are just as sacred and inviolable as those of larger Territories, and that those people should be given the opportunity to express their true aspirations concerning their future status, in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration and in conformity with the Charter.

69. In this connexion Tanzania is encouraged to note that all the administering Powers have come to agree in principle to permit access to the Territories concerned by United Nations visiting missions. It is evident that there cannot be a viable alternative to the information that visiting missions can obtain on the spot concerning the conditions prevailing in colonial Territories. In reviewing the reports of those visiting missions dispatched by the United Nations to no fewer than 15 Territories during the past decade, it is, however, alarming to note that there is an underlying commonality in mission findings in that the decisions of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, including those relating directly to their own Territories, either had not been heard of in the Territories themselves or had never been brought to the attention of, or sufficiently explained to, the inhabitants. Another area of similarity in mission findings concerns the prevalent apprehension on the part of the inhabitants that the act of self-determination signals the immediate severance of economic and other assistance, which invariably constitutes an indispensable element in sustaining their economic life. Nowhere else, I believe, is this concept of interdependence more blatantly distorted than in these situations, with or without design.

70. It is evident that interdependence of this type, often characterized as one-way solidarity or as a horse-and-rider relationship, continues to hinder the progress of those Territories towards full self-government and independence. The Tanzanian delegation therefore appeals to the administering Powers to act swiftly to remedy this malaise, which is seriously afflicting many of the smaller Territories. I wish in particular to stress the need for the wider dissemination of information on decolonization, and especially on the various activities of the United Nations and its family of organizations in support of the peoples of the colonial Territories. In the same connexion Tanzania notes with satisfaction that, within a period of less than four months, the United Nations has been able to dispatch two Visiting Missions, one to Guam and the other to the New Hebrides. We are grateful to the administering Powers concerned—namely the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom—for their decisions to make the United Nations presence in those Territories possible.

71. In respect of Guam, the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Guam⁴ clearly serves as testimony to the conviction of the majority of the members that the economic dependency, on a massive scale, of the people of Guam on the United States military installations on the island represents an impediment to the speedy implementation of the Declaration in re-

⁴ See document A/AC.109/L.1345, dated 5 October 1979.

spect of that Territory. In our view this situation is another case of a relationship of interdependence that needs to be redressed.

72. With respect to the New Hebrides, the Tanzanian delegation looks forward to receiving the mission's report in the near future, particularly in the light of the recently reported political unrest in the Territory. I need not add that the responsibility of the two administering Powers is especially grave as the New Hebrides moves forward to sovereign nationhood in 1980.

73. The Tanzanian delegation is gratified to note the outcome of the high-level meeting of the OAU Committee on Western Sahara held at Monrovia earlier this month. The position of the Tanzanian Government on that question has been consistent, and it has been guided by one consideration and one consideration only: that the destiny of the Territory can and should be decided only on the basis of the freely expressed wishes of its inhabitants. It was for that reason alone that we expressed our serious misgivings on the modalities through which the Spanish administration was withdrawn from its former Territory and on the manner in which subsequent developments have evolved. Tanzania accordingly warmly welcomed and commended a singular demonstration of commitment by the Republic of Mauritania to the cardinal principles that it upholds as a solemn obligation of the Member States, the principle of self-determination. I can only reiterate here the appeal addressed to the Government of Morocco by the OAU Committee that it should accept the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. In the meantime Tanzania will continue to honour its pledge of unqualified support to the Saharan people and their authentic representative, the Frente POLISARIO,⁵ in their courageous struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights.

74. As I stated earlier, the year 1980 will mark the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is the earnest hope of the Tanzanian Government that the observance of the anniversary will be crowned by the participation of representatives from Zimbabwe, Namibia, the New Hebrides and many other former colonial Territories as free and sovereign Members of this Organization.

75. Before concluding, Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks made by the Ambassador of Trinidad and Tobago about the dynamic and untiring leadership that you have provided during the past eight years as the Chairman of the Special Committee and your continued co-operation with the members of that Committee.

76. Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): The preamble to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples states, *inter alia*, that "the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible". For almost two decades now that document, which resulted from the initiative of the USSR,⁶ has proved its validity and vitality.

77. We are satisfied to note the ever stronger determination of peoples to put an end to the policy of exploita-

tion and oppression pursued by imperialism. The struggle to eliminate colonialism and racism has proved to be an inseparable component of the over-all effort to achieve peace and détente, disarmament and equal international economic relations.

78. The increased number of nationally liberated States is in itself a manifestation of the successes scored in the struggle for the national and social liberation of all peoples. It is of great importance that the majority of these States, as became manifest at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, approaches the resolution of momentous international issues with commitment and in an active and constructive fashion.

79. The record of the historic Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV), however, also reveals that the comprehensive implementation of the right to self-determination of all peoples continues to encounter considerable obstacles. In this context Africa remains the focal point. It is a continent in which in past decades colonialists suffered striking defeats; it is a continent the southern part of which now is particularly endangered by imperialist and racist manoeuvres. The last strongholds of colonialism and racism continue to exist in southern Africa. We are concerned at the unchanged subjugation of the peoples in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

80. It becomes increasingly clear that the aggressive and terrorist policies of the racist régimes are a dangerous threat to the African peoples' work of peaceful construction and even a threat to international peace and security, the more so as South Africa seeks to gain a free hand through blackmail to implement its nuclear intentions.

81. The series of racist atrocities just recently has been complemented by new deeds. The outcry of resentment at the assassination of Solomon Mahlangu was still ringing in our ears when the Pretoria authorities pronounced a sentence of capital punishment upon James Mange for what they called high treason, and sentenced a number of other African National Congress patriots to many years of imprisonment. The printing ink of the headlines on the talks on Zimbabwe was still fresh when Southern Rhodesia's mercenary army launched new violent attacks on Zambia and Mozambique. South Africa's threats to prevent progressive development in Zimbabwe by means of a military intervention went along with the *apartheid* State's proclamation of hegemonistic designs to forge a pro-racist alliance in the region. It is high time for this policy to be checked, since it defies all norms of international law. Ample programmes and measures have been adopted by various United Nations bodies to halt and curb the racists. What is imperative now is to implement those programmes. Tangible measures must be taken in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

82. My delegation emphatically speaks out for the binding arms embargo against South Africa⁷ to be strictly observed and expanded to all military fields. An immediate end must be put to military and, primarily, to nuclear collaboration with the *apartheid* régime.

83. With the same emphasis, we call for comprehensive economic sanctions, including an oil embargo and

⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

⁷ Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977.

a halt to investments, to be imposed with regard to South Africa.

84. The racists' challenge must be answered by tightened coercive measures rather than by indications on the part of certain States that they will lift unilaterally the decision on the imposition of sanctions adopted by the Security Council.

85. A basic source of the escalation of the racist policy of terrorism and aggression in southern Africa is the continuing collaboration of certain Powers with the racist régimes.

86. This fact is amply proved by a score of instances contained in documents of United Nations committees. The Khalifa report⁸ alone lists the names of 2,500 companies of Western States collaborating with the *apartheid* régime. A recent document of the Centre Against *Apartheid*⁹ traces the financial operations of 382 banking houses of major capitalist States which since 1972 have made available to the *apartheid* State \$5.5 billion through credits and loans. The report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, which was held in London on 24 and 25 February 1979,¹⁰ gives an abundance of details proving the support of the nuclear ambitions cherished by those ruling in Pretoria.

87. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries pointed out that

“the colonial and imperialist Powers were continuing their aggressive policies with the aim of perpetuating, regaining or extending their domination and exploitation of the African nations, thus giving rise to the conflicts that afflict the continent” [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 34].

88. These policies are a source of danger to international détente. This fact cannot be obscured, however sophisticated the attempts at justification. It is a fact that thousands of people in southern Africa have been murdered with highly developed weaponry of Western origin. It is a fact that, despite the arms embargo, the racists' army continues to receive supplies. And it is also a fact that, in defiance of the world-wide call to isolate the régime, shipments from Western countries are continually increasing and that financial flows have not been halted.

89. Indeed, everywhere and any time when interests of exploitation and profit are affected or when the supply of strategic raw materials is jeopardized reactionary forces gather to respond through large-scale actions. Peace and security are endangered by military intervention, gross interference in internal affairs and economic pressure. This is clearly proved by the most recent hectic manoeuvres in connexion with developments in southern Africa.

90. With regard to Namibia and Zimbabwe, imperialist circles have constantly been talking of peaceful settlements. What they have had in mind, however, is the safeguarding of their economic and military interests. It is they who have rendered support to the

racist régimes which have massacred thousands and thousands of African people. Vigilance against the manoeuvres of these forces is a supreme commandment.

91. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has retained its full validity for all peoples still living under colonial oppression. The peoples of Belize, Western Sahara and the small Territories must no longer be denied their right to self-determination and independence. The denial of self-determination and independence to the peoples of the small Territories in the Pacific, in the Atlantic and in the Indian Ocean results, above all, from military and strategic interests.

92. As has been established in the documents of the Special Committee on decolonization, the colonial Powers concerned have done nothing to comply with the repeated call of the United Nations that they should without delay and unconditionally dismantle their military bases and military facilities in colonial Territories and not establish such facilities anew. My delegation shares the concern of these peoples and their neighbours who are threatened by military bases and wish not to be involved in military adventures. This is particularly true of the Indian Ocean and its coastal States. My country vigorously objects to the anachronistic policy of the colonial Powers aimed at retarding ongoing changes in the world and, by means of military pressure, denying to the peoples of small countries their rights.

93. It is peace and détente that create more favourable conditions for the liberation of peoples that are still oppressed. The German Democratic Republic is among those States that actively work to consolidate the foundations of a peaceful and beneficial co-operation among peoples and States.

94. The socialist German State has made it a fundamental of its foreign policy to render support to the peoples struggling for their liberation. Since its foundation 30 years ago, the German Democratic Republic has been guided by the consideration that solidarity with the peoples in their struggle is a question not of tactics but of principle. Continuing the traditions of the German revolutionary working class movement, it committed itself to the principles of respect for the sovereignty of peoples and States, equality, and support for the struggle for independence and self-determination. We shall not fail to continue on this course.

95. This has been underscored by the results of several visits to African countries by party and State delegations from my country. The negotiations conducted in Libya, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Ethiopia, the deliberations with the leaders of the liberation organizations—namely, SWAPO, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African National Congress of South Africa—as well as the talks held with the General Secretariat of OAU, have manifested our firm bonds and tested solidarity with the African peoples in their struggle.

96. The treaties on friendship and co-operation concluded with Angola, Mozambique and, most recently, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen are of paramount importance. By those treaties the signatory States undertake to devote their efforts to the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

⁸ See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/371.

⁹ Corporate Data Exchange, Inc., “Bank Loans to South Africa, 1972-1978” in Notes and documents of the Centre against *Apartheid*, No. 5/79 (May 1979).

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13157.

and to continue their active support for all peoples struggling for their freedom, independence and sovereignty and for social progress.

97. In his recent talk with the Secretary-General of the OAU, Edem Kodjo, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, reaffirmed the active support of the German Democratic Republic for the just struggle of the peoples of Africa for national and social liberation, and particularly stressed the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic with the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, struggle for national independence and against continuing colonial exploitation and racist oppression.

98. In view of the increasing attempts in imperialist quarters and by the racist régime to force neo-colonialist puppet régimes upon the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia by means of blackmail and other forms of extortion, he repeated the call for resolute support for the Patriotic Front and SWAPO in their just struggle for true independence and freedom.

99. It is in that sense that the German Democratic Republic sides actively and firmly with struggling peoples and that it will make its contribution to breaking the last remaining chains of colonialism and racism.

AGENDA ITEM 51

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories (*concluded*)*

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (PART II) (A/34/691/ADD.1)

AGENDA ITEM 127

Question of the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/34/784)

100. Mr. COTTON (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly two more reports of the Special Political Committee. These relate to agenda items 51 and 127.

101. The first report is on agenda item 51 and is to be found in document A/34/691/Add.1. This is part II of the report on that item submitted by the Special Political Committee at this session and it covers the work of the Committee during seven meetings.¹¹ Three draft resolutions were submitted in the Special Political Committee and all were adopted. The adoption of those draft resolutions is recommended to the General Assembly.

102. The second report of the Special Political Committee is on agenda item 127 and is to be found in

document A/34/784. That item is before the General Assembly for the first time and was considered by the Committee at three meetings;¹² a number of delegations took part in the debate on the subject. A draft resolution was adopted by the Committee and it, too, is recommended to the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Special Political Committee.

103. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations with respect to the recommendations contained in the reports of the Special Political Committee to the General Assembly are reflected in the relevant summary records of that Committee. Statements will be limited here to explanations of vote.

104. May I remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly on 21 September 1979 that

“... when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary Assembly, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the plenary Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary Assembly is different from its vote in the Committee” [4th meeting, para 349].

105. We shall first consider part II of the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 51, entitled “Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories” [A/34/691/Add.1]. I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

106. Mr. DORON (Israel): My delegation would like to make a brief statement on the three draft resolutions recommended to the General Assembly by the Special Political Committee.

107. These draft resolutions have to be seen against the background of the constant preoccupation of the foes of Israel with Judaea and Samaria, which they covet for the execution of their master plan of converting these areas into a safe house, as it were, for acts of terrorism and subversion against Israel, as the first stage, with the intention in their minds of eventually using those areas as the staging ground for an outright attack on my country from the east at a subsequent stage. These plans are no secret. They have been published and they are being voiced quite openly practically every other day.

108. This situation calls for the utmost vigilance on the part of Israel, and its security needs must never be lost sight of. Once this situation is appreciated and remembered everything else falls into place.

109. These draft resolutions are part and parcel of that plan. Their purpose is to discredit the Israeli administration in the areas, and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices is playing its role in that evil design. That is why in the eyes of that Committee Israel can never do anything right, in spite of the fact that ours is a most enlightened and humane administration which does everything possible for the benefit of the population. That is why all our practices automatically be-

¹² *Ibid.*, 37th to 39th meetings, and *ibid.*, Special Political Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

* Resumed from the 71st meeting.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Special Political Committee*, 33rd, 36th and 42nd to 46th meetings, and *ibid.*, Special Political Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

come malpractices in the eyes of that Special Committee.

110. My delegation has shown in some detail in the Special Political Committee that the conclusions in the report of the Special Committee are baseless and wrong, that the whole approach of that Committee to its task was one-sided and prejudiced and that the situation in the administered areas has been distorted by it and presented as in a crooked mirror.

111. Draft resolution A, in paragraph 16 of document A/34/691/Add.1, is for all practical purposes identical with General Assembly resolution 33/113 C adopted last year. There is no justification whatsoever for the condemnations appearing in operative paragraph 5 of this draft resolution and there are some alleged actions in that list for which Israel is to be condemned which are not even mentioned in the report.

112. In fact, this draft resolution has been prepared and introduced in a completely irresponsible manner, for it was introduced on the very morning, 23 November, that the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices was distributed. Thus, it is obvious that the sponsors of this draft resolution had no possibility of studying the report, which consisted of 120 pages of single-spaced typescript, plus annexes and maps, before they condemned Israel in advance for whatever crimes and misdemeanors they assumed would be listed in the report as a matter of course. The rest of that draft likewise has no substantive basis either in law or in the facts on the ground.

113. As for draft resolution B, my delegation has explained many times that, although we do not accept the applicability of the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹³ to the administered areas, for very good reasons, in practice we apply its principles and even go far beyond the Convention in many facilities not mentioned in it which are accorded to the population of the areas.

114. Whether it is applicable or not is a matter for legal interpretation, but surely it is much better for the population if it is given all the benefits of the Convention than if lip-service is paid to the Convention and its provisions are then disregarded, as has been and is being done in many areas of conflict. As a matter of fact, there have been numerous armed conflicts in the world since this Convention came into force, but Israel is the only country anywhere that has honoured and applied the principles of that Convention. This fact is not, however, in any way taken into account in the draft resolution recommended for adoption.

115. Draft resolution C purports to pronounce on the legal validity of all measures adopted and action taken by Israel since 1967 in the areas concerned. As my delegation pointed out during the debate at the 36th and 46th meetings of the Special Political Committee, the General Assembly is not competent to make any such pronouncements.

116. The allegation concerning the alleged "obstruction of efforts" to secure a just and lasting peace is equally out of place. It is precisely resolutions such as

this draft resolution and the other two that obstruct the ongoing peace process and aggravate and complicate the existing situation.

117. Without prejudice to Israel's total rejection of the three draft resolutions before this Assembly, my delegation wishes to state again its strongest objection to the deliberately distorted and unacceptable terminology employed throughout these draft resolutions concerning the areas to which they purport to apply.

118. In the circumstances, my delegation will vote against all these draft resolutions, and hopes that other delegations too will not support them.

119. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): Before casting my vote, I should like to say this: "If talk is silver, silence is golden". The first example of illegality in the statement of the representative of occupied Palestine is his naming of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem as Judaea and Samaria, which is in itself an illegality under international law inasmuch as those areas were occupied in 1967 and therefore should be protected by the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. If I were the representative of occupied Palestine, I should consider it advisable to keep silent, because there is no case that can be defended. There is no such thing as enlightened or unenlightened occupation: occupation is the most illegal of all acts of defiance of international law and proper international order.

120. The latest Israeli violation of international law was reported only this morning. Two mayors of West Bank towns have been arrested, harassed and interrogated by the military occupation authorities of Palestine. This comes only a few days after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/29 requesting the release of the Mayor of Nablus in the West Bank from detention pending deportation. As for the settlement of Elon Moreh, near Nablus, not only has it not been vacated in compliance with the court ruling, but the Israeli occupiers have seized a hill a mere few kilometres away to establish a settlement on what they call "State domain", even though this is in flagrant violation of international law, the Geneva Conventions and all efforts to create and maintain a well-regulated international order. I must emphasize that the "State domains" are the communal property of the people of Palestine.

121. In its disturbance of international law, Israel's record is a criminal record second to none in the modern era. Nothing less is involved than the national genocide of the Palestinian people, not to mention the 2 million who have been dispersed and the widespread use of indescribable torture on tens of thousands of men, women and children. So far, at least 27 per cent of the occupied land has been confiscated and colonized and five sixths of the water resources of the occupied territories have been taken over. This is in addition to the savage oppression of human beings in occupied Palestine.

122. My description of the representative of Israel as the representative of occupied Palestine was not made lightly; there was much justification for it and it was in answer to the Israeli representative's aggressive and distorted references to Jordan's identity and legal status. It was prompted also by the fact that the General Assembly has recognized and continues to recognize

¹³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

the establishment of a Palestinian State far larger in area than the territories occupied in 1967. Israel's admission to this great body was conditional on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian State, as delineated by General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, and on General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, both of which affirm the right of every Palestinian refugee to return to his homeland. None has returned. Those resolutions are as valid as they ever were and have never been repudiated. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) do not in any way invalidate them.

123. Israel, having pledged itself to abide by these conditions, has adamantly refused over the past three decades to honour its obligations under the Charter and its own solemn pledge before this General Assembly. Hence, Israel should be regarded as an illegal entity in occupied Palestine unless and until it submits to the will of the international community.

124. Only recently, indeed in the last few days the Security Council Commission established pursuant to resolution 446 (1979) submitted its report, in which it says:

"In the period since it submitted its first report to the Security Council, the Commission has detected no evidence of any basic positive change in Israel's policy with regard to the construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories under occupation, particularly in the West Bank of Jordan. On the contrary, the Commission is of the view that that policy has largely contributed to a deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories and that it is incompatible with the pursuit of peace in the area.

"In complete disregard of United Nations resolutions and Security Council decisions, Israel is still pursuing its systematic and relentless process of colonization of the occupied territories. This is evidenced by the stated policy of constructing additional settlements in the most viable parts of the West Bank and by the expansion of others already in existence, as well as the long-term planning of still more settlements.

"The methods used by the occupation authorities to seize the lands needed for the construction or expansion of settlements are those already referred to by the Commission in its earlier report, as evidenced by the appeals made recently to Israel's High Court of Justice by groups of dispossessed inhabitants.

"From all indications available, the Commission continues to believe that the Israeli Government has to bear responsibility for the settlement programme, which is being implemented as an official policy.

"In the case of the Elon Moreh settlement, where a ruling by the Israeli High Court of Justice would seemingly provide some measure of protection against arbitrary seizure of Arab land, the Commission, while taking note of the Court's decision, cannot but deplore the efforts of the Israeli Government to side-step that decision. The Commission is inclined to believe that that episode, unfortunately, does not represent any significant departure from official Israeli policy regarding the settlements or from the ideological claims put forward as justification for that policy."¹⁴

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1979*, document S/13679, paras. 45-49.

125. The report of the Security Council Commission states that on the basis of its conclusions the Commission deems it necessary to reiterate its earlier recommendation that the Security Council, bearing in mind the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, again draw the attention of the Government and people of Israel to the disastrous consequences which the settlement policy is bound to have on any attempt to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East. Israel has already colonized almost one third of the West Bank. The Commission therefore recommends that the Security Council adopt effective measures to prevail upon Israel to cease the establishment of settlements in occupied territories and to dismantle the existing ones accordingly.

126. Now, if Israel is to continue in its colonization policy, in two or three years there will be no territory left for us even to discuss.

127. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 16 of its report.

128. I invite members to turn their attention to draft resolution A. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/34/795. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Colombia,¹⁵ Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ice-

¹⁵ The delegation of Colombia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

land, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Suriname, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 111 votes to 2, with 31 abstentions (resolution 34/90 A).

129. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Central African Republic, Dominican Republic,¹⁶ Guatemala, Malawi.

Draft resolution B was adopted by 140 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 34/90 B).

130. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution C. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia,

Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Central African Republic, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Malawi.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 140 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 34/90 C).¹⁷

131. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Finland for an explanation of vote after the vote.

132. Mr. LEINO (Finland): Finland voted in favour of draft resolution B on the understanding that there is nothing in that resolution that contradicts Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

133. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 127, entitled "Question of the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India". The report is contained in document A/34/784 and the draft resolution in paragraph 7 of that report. I call on the representative of France for an explanation of vote before the vote.

134. Mr. HUSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation firmly opposed the inclusion of an additional agenda item proposed by the delegation of Madagascar on 15 November. On 27 November, at the 37th meeting of the Special Political Committee, we went into the reasons why we categorically rejected the draft resolution submitted to the Committee [A/SPC/34/L.21].

135. Once again, today, I should like to reaffirm that in taking action on the draft resolution submitted to it, the General Assembly is acting in blatant violation of the principles of the Charter.

136. Indeed my delegation feels compelled to recall that the Assembly has no authority to distribute territories. It opposes once more the right that the Assembly

¹⁶ The delegation of the Dominican Republic subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

¹⁷ *Idem.*

claims to arrogate to itself, since the islands in question are without doubt French.

137. My delegation considers that, were the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution before it, it would be violating the territorial integrity of my country and would be interfering in an inadmissible fashion in the internal affairs of the French Republic.

138. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives,¹⁸ Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of

Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Senegal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Portugal, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, United Republic of Cameroon, Uruguay, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 93 votes to 7, with 36 abstentions (resolution 34/91).

139. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

140. Mr. GARCÍA (Brazil): Brazil abstained in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/34/784 because in our view the language of operative paragraph 3 prejudices the results of the negotiations referred to therein. Brazil supports the view that negotiations on the future of the islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India should be conducted, in accordance with the principles of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, between the interested parties.

141. Miss SUKENDAR (Indonesia): In supporting the draft resolution just adopted, my delegation wishes to emphasize the importance of the negotiations between the two countries concerned in order that the problems may be solved in a satisfactory manner.

The meeting rose at 2.45 p.m.

¹⁸ The delegation of Maldives subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.